Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 856

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 3 GENEVA 4011

EXDIS

FOR: IO/UNP-MCINTYRE AND INR/DFR/RGE-HODGSON (ALSO MCINTYRE PASS STEVENSON)

FROM MOORE

E.O. 11652: ADS: DECON AUGUST 25, 1973

TAGS: PBOR, UN

SUBJ: LOS: ZONE-LOCKED STATES

1. THERE FOLLOWS TEXT OF DRAFT SPEECH ON ZONE-LOCKED COUNTRY PROBLEMS WHICH WE ARE CONSIDERING DELIVERING TOWARD END THIS WEEK. PLEASE GIVE US YOUR COMMENTS AND CORRECTIONS, IF POSSIBLE BY COB GENEVA TIME TUESDAY, JULY 31:

- 2. QUOTE MR. CHAIRMAN,
- 3. IT HAS LONG BEEN A WIDELY SHARED UNDERSTANDING IN THE SEABED COMMITTEE THAT THE NEW LAW OF THE SEA TREATY MUST FULLY PROTECT FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT AS IT EXPANDS AREAS OF ECONOMIC JURISDICTION. MY DELEGATION HAS BEEN PLEASED TO NOTE THAT THIS UNDERSTANDING IS REFLECTED IN THE DRAFT PROPOSALS CONCERNING AREAS OF ECONOMIC JURISDICTION RECENTLY INTRODUCED IN THIS SUBCOMMITTEE. THUS, THE FIFTEEN-POWER DRAFT ARTICLES ON THE EXCLUSIVE ECONOMIC ZONE, INTRODUCED BY KENYA, ENDORSE "THE RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT" IN THE ECONOMIC ZONE. SIMILARLY, THE DRAFT ARTICLES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SUBMITTED BY UGANDA AND ZAMBIA, THE WORKING PAPER SUBMITTED BY AUSTRALIA AND NORWAY, AND THE DRAFT ARTICLES INTRODUCED BY ARGENTINA, AS WELL AS THE U.S. DRAFT ARTICLES ON THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES IN THE COASTAL SEABED ECONOMIC AREA, ALL ENDORSE

FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT IN THE AREA OF ECONOMIC JURISDICTION.

- 4. AS THESE DRAFT ARTICLES INDICATE, THE IMPORTANCE OF FULLY PROTECTING SHARED COMMUNITY RIGHTS IN NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT IS WIDELY ACCEPTED. IT MAY BE HELPFUL, HOWEVER, IF FROM TIME TO TIME WE REFLECT ON THE FUNDAMENTAL REASONS WHICH UNDERLIE THIS CONSENSUS. BY REFLECTING ON THESE REASONS, WE MAY BE BETTER ABLE TO FORESTALL ANY INDIRECT THREATS TO THESE SHARED COMMUNITY RIGHTS.
- 5. FIRST, MR. CHAIRMAN, THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL NEED OF ALL STATES, COASTAL AS WELL AS LAND-LOCKED, TO ACCESS TO THE OCEANS. WE USUALLY THINK OF THIS PROBLEM OF ACCESS AS A PROBLEM UNIQUE TO LAND-LOCKED STATES. BUT TO THE CONTRARY, THIS BASIC PROBLEM COULD BE SHARED BY A MAJORITY OF COASTAL STATES IF WE ARE NOT CAREFUL TO SEPARATE ECONOMIC JURISDICTION FROM JURISDICTION AFFECTING NAVIGATIONAL RIGHTS. WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT UNDER A REGIME RECOGNIZING SOME FORM OF ECONOMIC JURISDICTION IN AN AREA AS FAR AS 200 NAUTICAL MILES OR BEYOND. APPROXIMATELY 61 COASTAL STATES WOULD HAVE ABSOLUTELY NO ACCESS TO ANY OCEAN ON WHICH THEY 'FACE' EXCEPT THROUGH THIS ECONOMIC AREA OF ONE OR MORE NEIGHBORING STATES. THESE COASTAL STATES WOULD BE, IN A VERY REAL SENSE, TOTALLY "ZONE-LOCKED". AN ADDI-TIONAL FIVE COASTAL STATES WOULD BE "PARTIALLY ZONE-LOCKED" IN THAT THEY WOULD BE COMPLETELY CUT OFF FROM ACCESS TO ONE OF THE OCEANS ON WHICH THEY 'FACE' EXCEPT THROUGH THE 200-MILE ECONOMIC AREA OF ONE OR MORE NEIGHBORING STATES. AND, EVEN MORE PERVERSELY, AT LEAST SIX LAND-LOCKED STATES WOULD, IN ADDITION TO THEIR PRESENT PROBLEMS, BECOME PAR-TIALLY ZONE-LOCKED IN THAT THE STATE OR STATES ON WHICH THEY ARE DEPENDENT FOR NORMAL MARITIME ACCESS WOULD THEM-SELVES BE TOTALLY ZONE-LOCKED.
- 6. ZONE-LOCKED STATES INCLUDE A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF STATES FROM ALL GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS BUT THE IMPACT IS PARTICULARLY CONCENTRATED ON CONTINENTAL SOUTHEAST ASIAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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STATES, AFRICAN STATES WITH SHORT COASTLINES, CENTRAL AND NORTHERN NORTH AMERICAN STATES BORDERING ON THE CARIBBEAN, STATES BORDERING ON SEMI-ENCLOSED AREAS WHICH DO NOT ALSO HAVE A DIRECT-OCEAN COASTLINE, SHELF-LOCKED STATES, THE BALTIC SEA STATES, NORTHWEST EUROPEAN STATES AND RED SEA AND PERSIAN GULF STATES. THE IMPACT ALSO SEEMS TO BE FOCUSED ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MORE THAN ON DEVELOPED OR MARITIME NATIONS. THUS, CANADA, FRANCE, JAPAN, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES, AMONG OTHER COASTAL STATES, ARE NOT ZONE-LOCKED. ATTACHED AS AN APPENDIX TO THESE REMARKS IS A PARTIAL AND APPROXIMATE LIST OF ZONE-LOCKED STATES.

7. THE PROBLEM OF ZONE-LOCKED STATES ILLUSTRATES IN ITS MOST ACUTE FORM THE DANGER TO THE COMMUNITY COMMON IN-TEREST IF AN EXPANSION OF ECONOMIC JURISDICTION WERE TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY AN EXPANSION OF JURISDICTION CAPABLE OF AFFECTING NAVIGATION. IF, FOR EXAMPLE, JURISDICTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE MARINE ENVIRONMENT--JURISDICTION WHICH MUST ACCOMPANY EXPANDED ECONOMIC JURISDICTION WITH RESPECT TO THE PREVENTION OF POLLUTION FROM RESOURCE EXPLORATION AND EXPLOITATION--WERE ALSO TO EXTEND GENERALLY T VESSEL-SOURCE POLLUTION, ALL SEABORN COMMERCE TO AND FROM ZONE-LOCKED STATES WOULD BE SUBJECT TO THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ANOTHER STATE. WHETHER OR NOT THE JUDGMENTS OF THESE NEIGHBORING STATES WERE ALWAYS REASONABLY RELATED TO ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS, THEIR JUDGMENTS WOULD NOT NECESSARILY REFLECT THE INTERESTS OF THE ADJACENT ZONE-LOCKED STATE NOR PERMIT THE ZONE-LOCKED STATE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DECISION PROCESS AFFECTING THEIR OCEAN LIFELINE. FOR THESE ZONE-LOCKED STATES THIS LOSS OF SOVEREIGNTY WOULD EXTEND TO ALL OCEAN SHIPPING TO OR FROM THEIR COUNTRY, NOT JUST TO THEIR FLAG VESSELS OR VESSELS OWNED BY THEIR NATIONALS.

8. THE KINDS OF RESTRICTIONS NECESSARY TO DEAL WITH VESSEL-SOURCE POLLUTION, PARTICULARLY VESSEL CONSTRUCTION AND OPERATION STANDARDS, CAN BE FAR-REACHING, WIDELY VARYING, AND COSTLY IN INCREASING THE COSTS OF GOODS MOVED IN SEABORN COMMERCE. THE ONLY EXAMPLE TO DATE OF A COASTAL STATE EXERCISE OF GENERAL JURISDICTION OVER VESSEL-SOURCE POLLUTION PURSUANT TO A CLAIM TO ACT IN A ZONE BEYOND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE TERRITORIAL SEA, IS AN ACT WHICH SETS OUT DETAILED RE-QUIREMENTS, AMONG OTHER THINGS, WITH RESPECT TO HULL, FUEL TANK, MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT CONSTRUCTION, ELECTRONIC AND NAVIGATIONAL AIDS REQUIRED, THE NATURE OF PROPELLING POWER, APPLIANCES AND FITTINGS FOR STEERING AND STABILIZING, THE MANNING OF THE SHIP INCLUDING THE NUMBER AND QUALIFICATIONS OF PERSONNEL, THE MAXIMUM QUANTITY OF CARGO TO BE CARRIED, THE METHOD OF STOWAGE OF CARGO, FREEBOARD TO BE ALLOWED. AND QUANTITIES OF FUEL, WATER, SUPPLIES, MAPS, CHARTS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS TO BE CARRIED. THIS ACT ALSO IN-CLUDES A DETAILED ENFORCEMENT REGIME EVEN PERMITTING FORE-FEITURE OF SHIP AND CARGO UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES. CERTAINLY THESE KINDS OF FAR-REACHING AND POTENTIALLY COSTLY REGULATIONS ARE NOT ONES WHICH ANY STATE SHOULD BE ASKED TO ENTRUST TO THE UNILATERAL SOVEREIGNTY OF ANOTHER STATE. WHAT STATE WOULD BE WILLING TO ENTRUST TO ANOTHER STATE UNILATERAL PLENARY AUTHORITY TO DETERMINE THE SIZE AND KINDS OF SHIPPING WHICH WOULD BE PERMITTED ACCESS TO ITS OWN PORTS AND COASTS? FOR MOST STATES, SUCH SWEEPING AUTHORITY CUTS TO THE HEART OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND

ECONOMIC WELL BEING.

9. IF THE REAL CHOICE WERE BETWEEN SUCH A MASSIVE LOSS OF SOVEREIGNTY BY A MAJORITY OF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD AND GENUINE ENVIRONMENTAL NEEDS, THE WORLD COMMUNITY MIGHT FACE A REAL DILEMMA. HAPPILY, HOWEVER, FROM AN ENVIRONMENTAL PERSPECTIVE THE PROBLEM OF VESSEL-SOURCE POLLUTION IS BEST APPROACHED INTERNATIONALLY THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EFFECTIVE UNIFORM STANDARDS RATHER THAN ON A PIECEMEAL BASIS. EVEN THE PROBLEM OF THE SPECIAL ECONOMICAL NEEDS OF SPECIAL AREAS IS MOST EFFECTIVELY DEALT WITH AT A GLOBAL DECISION LEVEL, AT LEAST AS CONCERNS PREVENTION OF VESSEL-SOURCE POLLUTION.

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10. SECOND, MR. CHAIRMAN, THE THREAT TO ZONE-LOCKED STATES IS ONLY THE MOST ACUTE MANIFESTATION OF THE IM-PORTANCE OF FULLY PROTECTING NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOMS IN AN OVERALL LAW OF THE SEA AGREEMENT. WHEREAS ZONE-LOCKED STATES WOULD HAVE NO DIRECT ACCESS TO AN OCEAN WHICH THEY 'FACE' WITHOUT PASSING THROUGH AN ECONOMIC AREA OF ONE OR MORE NEIGHBORING STATES, ALL STATES, COASTAL AS WELL AS LAND-LOCKED, WOULD BE AFFECTED BY EXPANDED UNILATERAL JURIS-DICTION CAPABLE OF AFFECTING NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOMS. THE MAJOR SHIPPING ROUTES OF THE WORLD PASS THROUGH THE POTENTIAL ECONOMIC AREAS OF MANY DIFFERENT COASTAL STATES. THUS, ON A TYPICAL VOYAGE, IT WOULD NOT BE UNCOMMON TO PASS THROUGH THE ECONOMIC AREAS OF TEN OR FIFTEEN SUCH STATES. MOREOVER, SINCE MOST VESSELS MUST BE DESIGNED FOR A WIDE VARIETY OF SHIPPING ROUTES, DURING THEIR PRODUC-TIVE LIVE THEY MAY PASS THROUGH THE ECONOMIC AREAS OF ALL OR MOST OF THE 120 COASTAL STATES.

11. MR. CHAIRMAN, MY DELEGATION IS PREPARING FOR DISTRIBUTION TO THE SEABED COMMITTEE IN THE NEAR FUTURE A CHART, SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP OF MAJOR SHIPPING ROUTES AND A

HYPOTHETICAL 200 NAUTICAL MILE AREA WHICH WE HOPE MAY BE USEFUL IN ILLUSTRATING THESE PROBLEMS.

12. IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT INCREASED COSTS ASSOCIATED WITH NAVIGATIONAL RESTRICTIONS WILL NOT BE BORNE EVEN PRIMARILY BY MARITIME NATIONS. IN THE LONG RUN, SHIPS WILL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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NOT BE CONSTRUCTED AND OPERATED UNLESS THEIR REVENUES EXCEED THEIR COSTS. INCREASED COSTS RESULTING FROM NAVIGATIONAL RESTRICTIONS WILL BE LARGELY PASSED ON IN THE FORM OF INCREASES IN THE COST OF SHIPPING AND WILL BE BORNE PRINCIPALLY BY EXPORTING AND IMPORTING NATIONS. THESE COSTS MAY ALSO BE REFLECTED IN REDUCED INTERNATIONAL TRADE OR IN SLOWER GROWTH IN TRADE AS INCREASED SHIPPING COSTS DISPLACE MARGINAL MATERIALS AND MARKETS AND ENCOURAGE DEVELOPMENT OF OTHERWISE NONCOMPETITIVE ALTERNATIVES. THE IMPACT ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HEAVILY DEPENDENT ON EXPORTS COULD BE PARTICULARLY SEVERE.

13. AGAIN, MR. CHAIRMAN, IF THE REAL CHOICE WERE BETWEEN INCREASED SHIPPING COSTS AND SOME OTHER NEED OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, SUCH AS ADEQUATE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, WE MIGHT FACE A GENUINE DILEMMA. WITH RESPECT TO THE STRONG INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND COASTAL STATE NEEDS FOR THE PREVENTION OF VESSEL-SOURCE POLLUTION, HOW-EVER, BOTH ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS STRONGLY SUGGEST AN INTERNATIONAL SOLUTION RATHER THAN PERMITTING UNILATERAL RESTRICTIONS ON NAVIGATION. POLLUTION FROM VESSELS IS CARRIED WIDELY BY THE CURRENTS OF THE SEAS AND KNOWS NO INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY. AND FROM AN ECO-NOMIC AND PRAGMATIC STANDPOINT, IT WOULD BE HIGHLY INEF-FICIENT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO SUBJECT VESSELS TO AS MANY AS 120 DIFFERENT SETS OF CONSTRUCTION AND OPERATION STANDARDS. THE ONLY POSSIBLE RESULT WOULD BE ECONOMIC INEFFICIENCY AND UNNECESSARY COSTS BORNE BY ALL OF US.

14. MR. CHAIRMAN, THERE IS A THIRD IMPORTANT REASON WHY WE SHOULD BE CAREFUL TO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN ECONOMIC JURISDICTION AND JURISDICTION CAPABLE OF AFFECTING NAVIGATIONAL INTERESTS. AS OCEAN USES MULTIPLY IN THE YEARS AHEAD, A JUST AND FARSIGHTED AGREEMENT WILL BECOME ESSENTIAL IF WE ARE TO AVOID THE CONFLICTS AMONG NATIONS WHICH ALREADY MAR THE GREAT POTENTIAL OF THE OCEANS. FOR THIS REASON, MY DELEGATION HAS REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF CERTAINTY IN THE NEW AGREEMENT AS WELL AS THE IMPORTANCE OF AN EFFECTIVE SYSTEM OF COMULSORY DISPUTE SETTLEMENT. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT WE STRUCTURE THE AGREEMENT IT-SELF TO MINIMIZE POTENTIAL SOURCES OF CONFLICT AMONG LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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NATIONS. AGREEMENT ON EXPANDED ECONOMIC JURISDICTION WILL ENCOURAGE GREATER STABILITY OF EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING SUCH OCEAN USES AND SHOULD SERVE TO PREVENT POTENTIAL CONFLICT. IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, AN EXPANSION OF JURISDICTION OVER ECONOMIC ISSUES WERE TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY AN EXPANSION OF JURISDICTION AFFECTING NAVIGATIONAL RIGHTS, THE POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT MIGHT BE HEIGHTENED RATHER THAN REDUCED.

15. INTERFERENCE WITH NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOMS HAS HISTO-RICALLY BEEN A POTENT SOURCE OF CONFLICT AMONG NATIONS. IF NAVIGATION AND OVERFLIGHT WERE TO BE SUBJECTED TO POTENTIAL UNILATERAL RESTRAINTS, FOR EXAMPLE, RULES AND REGULATIONS APPLIED TO SHIPPING ON THE HIGH SEAS, WE MIGHT WELL BE STRUCTURING THIS POTENT SOURCE OF CONFLICT INTO THE AGREEMENT ITSELF. SUCH UNILATERAL RESTRAINTS ARE PARTI-CULARLY POTENT SOURCES OF CONFLICT IN THAT THEY MAY RE-QUIRE DIRECT ACTION BY ONE STATE AGAINST VESSELS OR AIR-CRAFT MANIFESTING THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ANOTHER. SUCH RESTRAINTS MAY ALSO POSE THREATS WHICH MIGHT BE PERCEIVED BY OTHER STATES AS THREATS TO THEIR ESSENTIAL SECURITY OR ECONOMIC INTERESTS. FINALLY, ENTRUSTING STATES WITH BROAD UNILATERAL DISCRETION OVER THE NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOMS OF OTHERS MAY CREATE TEMPTATIONS TO USE SUCH LEVERAGE TO PURSUE GENERAL POLITICAL ENDS. THE RESULT OF ANY OF THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD BE HEIGHTENED POTENTIAL FOR CON-FLICT AMONG NATIONS.

16 MR. CHAIRMAN, THESE THREE REASONS ARE ONLY SOME OF THE REASONS STRONGLY SUPPORTING THE NEED TO SEPARATE ECONOMIC JURISDICTION FROM JURISDICTION POTENTIALLY AFFECTING NAVIGATION. ALL DELEGATIONS IN THE SEABED COMMITTEE COULD ELABORATE ON THESE REASONS OR OFFER OTHERS SUPPORTING THE SAME CONCLUSION. AND, OF COURSE, MANY OF THESE REASONS ARE EQUALLY APPLICABLE TO THE VITAL PROTECTION OF TRANSIT THROUGH STRAITS USED FOR INTERNATIONAL NAVIGATION.

17. IN CONCLUSION, MR. CHAIRMAN, THERE ARE MANY COMPELLING REASONS UNDERLYING THE GENERAL CONSENSUS IN THE SEABED COMMITTEE THAT A NEW LAW OF THE SEA AGREEMENT MUST FULLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PROTECT THE COMMON INTERESTS OF ALL NATIONS IN NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOMS. WE SHOULD BE PARTICULARLY MINDFUL IN THIS REGARD OF THE PROBLEMS OF ZONE-LOCKED STATES. WHAT MAY SEEM A SMALL JURISDICTIONAL GRANT COULD FOR THESE STATES AMOUNT TO A MAJOR LOSS OF SOVEREIGNTY. IN THE JUDGMENT OF MY

DELEGATION, A GRANT OF JURISDICTION TO MAKE AND ENFORCE STANDARDS RELATING TO VESSEL-SOURCE POLLUTION IN AREAS CO-EXTENSIVE WITH ECONOMIC JURISDICTION WOULD POSE SUCH A THREAT TO THESE LARGELY COASTAL ZONE-LOCKED STATES AS

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ACTION SS-25

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WELL AS IMPOSE UNNECESSARY COSTS ON THE EXPORTING AND IMPORTING NATIONS OF THE WORLD.

18. WE SHOULD, OF COURSE, MAKE CERTAIN THAT A NEW LAW OF THE SEA AGREEMENT WILL MEANINGFULLY PROTECT THE EN-VIRONMENTAL AND OTHER NEEDS OF COASTAL STATES AS WELL AS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE. IT IS ENTIRELY APPROPRIATE IN THIS REGARD THAT COASTAL STATES SHOULD HAVE THE FIRST LINE OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAKING AND ENFORCING STANDARDS FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE MARINE ENVIRONMENT FROM POLLUTION OTHER THAN VESSEL-SOURCE POLLUTION. WE SHOULD ALSO PROVIDE A MEANINGFUL MECHANISM TO MAKE AND ENFORCE INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS FOR THE PREVENTION OF VESSEL-SOURCE POLLUTION. AND WE SHOULD PROVIDE COASTAL STATES WITH THE RIGHT TO TAKE DIRECT ACTION TO PREVENT, MITIGATE OR ELIMINATE ANY IMMINENT DANGER OF MAJOR HARMFUL DAMAGE TO THEIR COASTS OR RELATED INTERESTS ARISING FROM A VIOLA-TION OF THE APPLICABLE INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS. WE SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, IMPOSE A MAJOR LOSS OF SOVEREIGNTY ON ZONE-LOCKED AND OTHER NATIONS BY JURISDICTION WHICH COULD AFFECT THE HEART OF NAVIGATIONAL FREEDOMS SHARED BY ALL NATIONS. UNQUOTE.

19. APPENDIX. QUOTE. PARTIAL AND APPROXIMATE LIST OF ZONE-LOCKED STATES: FOR PURPOSES OF THIS ILLUSTRATIVE LIST, A 'ZONE-LOCKED' STATE IS DEFINED AS A STATE WHICH DOES NOT HAVE DIRECT ACCESS TO AN OCEAN ON WHICH IT 'FACES' EXCEPT THROUGH A POTENTIAL 200 NAUTICAL MILE AREA OF ONE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OR MORE OTHER STATES. THIS LIST BEARS A HEAVY CAVEAT SINCE ANY BOUNDARIES BETWEEN JURISDICTIONS EXTENDING AS FAR AS 200 NAUTICAL MILES HAVE NOT BEEN DETERMINED. THIS LIST IN NO WAY IS INTENDED TO PREJUDGE ANY ISSUES WITHIN OR WITHOUT THE SCOPE OF THE SEABED COMMITTEE NOR DOES IT NECESSARILY REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ON ANY SUCH ISSUES. IT IS ILLUSTRATIVE ONLY. UNQUOTE.

20. APPENDIX 2. QUOTE. I. TOTALLY ZONE-LOCKED COASTAL STATES--BY REGION.

A. THE AMERICAN: (1) CUBA; (2) HONDURAS; (3) JAMAICA; (4) NICARAGUE; (5) PANAMA; (6) TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO.

B. EUROPE: (1) ALBANIA; (2) BELGIUM; (3) BULGARIA;

- (4) DENMARK; (5) FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY; (6) FINLAND;
- (7) GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC; (8) GREECE; (9) ITALY;
- (10) MALTA; (11) MONACO; (12) NETHERLANDS; (13) NORWAY;
- (14) POLAND; (15) ROMANIA; (16) SWEDEN; (17) YUGOSLAVIA.
- C. THE NEAR EAST AND AFRICA: (1) ALGERIA; (2) BAHRAIN;
- (3) CAMEROOM; (4) CONGO; (5) CYPRUS; (6) EGYPT; (7) EQUA-
- TORIAL GUINEA; (8) ETHIOPIA; (9) GAMBIA; (10) IRAN;
- (11) IRAQ; (12) ISRAEL; (13) JORDAN; (14) KUWAIT; (15) LEBANON;
- (16) LIBYA; (17) MAURITANIA; (18) QATAR; (19) SAUDI ARABIA;
- (20) SUDAN; (21) SYRIA; (22) TOGO; (23) TUNISIA; (24) TURKEY;
- (25) UNITED ARAB EMIRATES; (26) YEMEN; (27) ZAIRE.
- D. ASIA (EXCEPT NEAR EAST) AND OCEANIA: (1) CAMBODIA;
- (2) FIJI; (3) MALAYSIA; (4) NAURU; (5) NORTH KOREA;
- (6) NORTH VIETNAM; (7) SINGAPORE; (8) SOUTH KOREA;
- (9) SOUTH VIETNAM; (10) THAILAND; (11) WESTERN SAMOA.

II. PARTIALLY ZONE-LOCKED COASTAL STATES--THAT IS
COASTAL STATES ZONE-LOCKED ON ONLY ONE OF TWO OCEANS ON
WHICH THEY FACE: (1) COSTA RICA (ATLANTIC ONLY);
(2) COLOMBIA (ATLANTIC ONLY, ALTHOUGH OPENING TO PACIFIC
WOULD BE ONLY A NARROW CORRIDOR TO THE SOUTH); (3) GUATEMALA
(ATLANTIC ONLY); (4) MEXICO (ATLANTIC ONLY); (5) USSR (ATLANTIC
ONLY).

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III. MAJOR LAND-LOCKED STATES ALSO PARTIALLY ZONE-LOCKED-THAT IS LAND-LOCKED STATES DEPENDENT FOR THEIR NORMAL TRAFFIC ROUTING ON A TOTALLY ZONE-LOCKED STATE OR STATES:

- $(1) \ AUSTRIA; (2) \ CZECHOSLOVAKI; (3) \ HUNGARY; (4) \ LAOS;$
- (5) LUXEMBOURG; (6) SWITZERLAND. UNQUOTE.

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